1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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231 find the cleaning of byres in which many cattle are stalled, very
47 arduous. A pagan who has many cattle always has more than one wife.

Thus, herding together was traditionally, and still is, one of the main common activities of neighbours in a village; most cattle are herded with those of neighbours, but there is a measure of co-operation with relatives and personal friends of other villages. It is likely that the practice of placing cattle with friends of other villages is becoming more common.

e. Hunting and fishing

224 From the point of view of village co-operation, hunting and
226 fishing are relatively unimportant, for, in the first place, game and
262 fish provide the Nyakyusa with prized foods to eat as relish with
47 the staple bananas, roots, and cereals, rather than with main items of diet; and secondly, hunting and fishing are not primarily village enterprises.

226 Most fishing is done by men, individually, each keeping his own catch; but groups of herd-boys or young men sometimes co-operate to divert a branch of a stream temporarily, so that they may tickle the fish stranded in the shallow pools. They choose a place where a stream divides naturally, and block one channel with stones; but such enterprises are on a small scale. Periodically however, when fish were plentiful, communal fishing was organized during the dry season. The seeds of a certain legume, grown for the purpose, were thrown into the river to stupefy the fish. Men, women, and children waited some way down the stream with hand-nets, and when, an hour or two after the poison had been put in, the fish began to float down stupefied, they were easily netted. The poisoning was organized by the chief and village headmen and all the villages of the chiefdom participated, as well as those from neighbouring chiefdoms, when their chiefs were on good terms. Friends naturally went together, but the various villages did not act as separate units as they do in a communal hunt. Communal fishing never occurred regularly, for if fish were scarce the chief might forbid it for a number of years, and it is now rare, since poisoning the rivers has been forbidden by the Administration. We heard of only one such fishing during our stay in Nyakyusa country.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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Hunting for food, like most fishing, is an individual affair. A number of men have shot-guns with which they hunt buck (duiker, bushbuck, and waterbuck) which are scarce, and game birds (guinea fowl, partridge, and duck) which are plentiful. The limiting factor is ammunition, which is relatively expensive, and few men waste a cartridge on birds unless they are sure of getting at least two with one shot. They stalk the sitting birds and fire (at point-blank range) at several birds in a line. One or two chiefs employ men specially to shoot for them, but in the diet of the people as a whole game plays a very small part, and there is no tradition of it ever having been of great importance.

Hunting for the protection of life and property is, on the other hand, a communal concern, organized like war. The chief calls out his men who assemble by villages, each under its own headman, and the chief disposes the groups. Attendance is compulsory and individuals or villages who fail to appear without good reason may be fined. Such communal hunts are still organized to kill wild pig, which devastate the gardens of some chiefdoms. We took part in one to which five village groups consisting of about 160 men and boys came. Formerly they were organized also if lion or leopard or other big game attacked men or cattle. The aim was to surround the animal and spear it, and here the importance of village relations became apparent, for the Nyakyusa argued that a man was less likely to be [illegible] in moments of danger, he stood with his relatives and village neighbours. 'We said that people of different age-villages should not stand together, every man should have his friends or relatives near him, so that if the leopard caught him the others would have to help and not shrink back! So people of the same age-village stood together, or relatives with relatives.'

Towards the end of last century Nyakyusa country abounded in big game.[1] Elephant were purposely shot out before 1935 because they were so destructive of crops, but lion, leopard, buffalo, hippo, and crocodile are still fairly common.

[1] Elton, op. cit., p. 309; D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country between Lakes Nyasa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika', *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. VI (1890), p. 280; 'Cross-Ideas south of Lake Nyasa', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. V (1895), p. 109; F. L. H. Melland, *After Livingstone* (1923), pp. 90–110.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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[facing p. 67]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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like activities; things which are felt to be alike are often felt to be antagonistic. We have shown that certain of the pregnancy taboos are interpreted in terms of the opposition between seed in plants and seed in the womb, and between pumpkins in the field and pumpkins in the vagina, and we have touched on the opposition between procreation and war. Sexual intercourse, 'the war of the mats', is directly compared with war; the two are felt to be alike and therefore incompatible. Association with a menstruating or parturient woman is felt to be weakening to a warrior; continence of a warrior before battle is enjoined—'men feared to die quickly if they slept with their wives just before war.' Moreover, a menstruating wife never touches her husband's weapons lest they be weakened.

Hunting is classed with war and the same taboos apply. Added to them is the notion that, since a pregnant woman is often angry, the animals her husband hunts will be angry also, and he is in much greater danger than an ordinary hunter.

ANGONEWUKA: If you go into the bush and you have left your wife heavy, at home, if you meet a lion it will not run off, but will injure you, maul you. And if you are many, a leopard or a lion will attack you, the heavy one, not the others.

QUESTION: Why?

ANGONEWUKA: It is as if there was much anger. And we've noticed something else, if a lion attacks cattle it always attacks a cow in calf. And another thing. If a woman is heavy she is very bad-tempered (*okali*), it's like a passion. Perhaps the woman is bad-tempered or perhaps good, and you, the husband, are bad-tempered. Pregnancy shows in many ways. . . .

A pregnant woman has a great fire in her body, she sweats a lot and is passionate (*ofyaja*), she is fierce (*okali*). That fire is strong; we all flee from the woman, we all dislike her. And when pregnancy begins the animals in the bush wish to kill you, the husband. That fierceness [the fire] makes them hate you; you are like a twin. A first-born child is very fierce (*okali*), so a woman is very passionate and sweats a great deal.

His wife's pregnancy puts a man in danger from wild animals, and so does a quarrel with her, quite apart from the pregnancy which tends to produce such quarrels. Mwakisumo said: 'If I go hunting after quarrelling with my wife it is very dangerous, I might be killed by a wild animal.'

Besides the idea that animals will attack the husband of a preg-

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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nant woman there is a notion that they will *flee* from him, and therefore he will be hopelessly unsuccessful in hunting. Isaiah, who persisted in hunting while his wife was pregnant and rarely brought in anything, was the laughing-stock of his neighbours. Lyandileko, the woman doctor, explained: 'The animals flee because the man smells. He smells because his wife is pregnant.'

Procreation and smithing are also felt to be in opposition because they are felt to be alike. A pregnant woman usually avoids a forge altogether, lest she miscarry, and her husband, if he approaches one, remains silent until he has picked up a piece of charcoal, spat on it, and thrown it into the fire. If he neglects to do so, the iron does not coalesce. Kaitile explained the taboo very clearly:

> If a woman is pregnant she and her husband both fear to go near a forge lest either the iron or the foetus is spoiled. The foetus is spoiled *only* because medicines are used on the forge; that is to say, the medicine of the forge spoils the iron in the belly of a woman, and she has a miscarriage. But if there is no medicine then the iron is spoiled; it is difficult to work until the smith has sought a doctor to treat it with medicine; then the iron is all right again.

Kaitile speaks of 'the iron in the belly *of* the woman' and the details of this symbolism are instructive. Angombwike said:

> When a smith forges a spear he does not sleep with his wives[1] because, we say, when a woman conceives the fire blazes within her to forge a person, and the woman's fire and the smith's fire fight. When a smith comes with the fire of his smithy on his body and lies with a woman, the woman has a miscarriage.
>
> The iron of a woman is that within which receives the seed [i.e. the womb]. And we ordinary people who are not smiths, we fear the smith's fire. We do not fear to injure a woman, no, but we fear *ilipindalo*, the disease of the forge, in children. If a man sits talking with a smith at his forge and catches hold of the iron being forged there, if his wife at home bears a child, the child will cough: 'He, he.' It's like the cough of *ingumbi*, but we call it 'the forge'. Then people say: 'The forge! Indeed, you, the father, must have sat with a smith at the forge.' Then the father thinks, and he remembers, and takes the child to that smith with whom he sat, and the smith lets his bellows play on the child's body

[1] All informants were agreed that a forge is dangerous to a pregnant woman or her husband, but a smith consulted denied that he observed any sex taboos himself. 'The fire is mine.' 'But,' he said, 'if my wife is pregnant or has given birth to twins, when I go to someone else's forge I myself, with the custom of a smith, spit on a piece of charcoal and throw it in the fire.'

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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CHAPTER X

Hunting & Fishing

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STRICT game laws have made hunting a thing of the past; or at best it is done secretly, when it is not a wild, excited scramble after some unfortunate animal that has wandered into the gardens in search of food. Before the white man took over the country, however, hunting was an important and regular part of the year's work. The diviner fixed upon a favourable day for setting out, and the whole community met for the preliminary ceremonies, when prayer was offered to the spirits, and through them to God. All quarrels must be made up before the hunters set out, and there must be no sin or strife in the village while they are absent, else they will not all come back alive. In hunting, as in every important act of his life, the Konde must be sure of the goodwill of the spirits, for a single angry spirit may spoil a whole season's work, and render abortive every effort of the hunter, just as he may bring to nothing every other kind of activity. This permanent possibility of interference from the underworld is one of the fundamental facts of the inner life of the people, and real understanding of the native mind does not begin until this elementary fact has been grasped.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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Nothing was left to chance. The spirits having been placated, the natural skill of the hunters must be reinforced by medicines. Indeed it is not improbable that the native would say that the whole of his skill and success is due to medicines and ceremonies. The warrior goes out to battle armed and protected by prayers, drugs, and a good conscience; equally for the hunter good morals, good medicines, are as important as reliable weapons and a steady nerve. *Unkota wa nyanga*, to ensure a good spear-throw, or a straight aim with the ancient rifle which some hunters carried, was rubbed into flesh cuts in the hands; and *burunga*, to make sure that the animal died quickly and without a long chase, was incised into the arms; but more frequently, and more effectively for this purpose, *bulembe* was attached to the spear. This latter is a deadly poison, happily, perhaps, known only to a very few, for a single scratch is said to be fatal. It is said that the Germans tried unsuccessfully to secure the secret of its manufacture. The poison is attached, in a leaf, to the blade of the spear, and the thrust into the flesh of the animal releases it, so that it enters the blood, and causes a speedy death.

Women must not touch or go near hunting weapons which are kept in the roof of the house. The spears must not be placed near the fire, lest the game, sniffing in the breeze the smell of smoke, deduce the presence of mankind, and make off. The hunters must eat only freshly cooked food, for cold food destroys, as it does also for chiefs, the virtue of their medicines. Fatal results are sure to follow contact

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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224 784 with their wives before setting out; and a wife who sins in her husband's absence, will cause his death on the hunting ground. The smell of clothes, like the smell of fire, would drive the game away, and therefore leaves only are worn while actually on the chase. Hunters thus *fully* equipped are called *akaswala*, the rank and file being mere *akafwimi* (drivers). The hunt might last for four to eight weeks, and as the men did not return to their homes until it was over, huts were built in which they slept. The boy who did the cooking was not allowed to hunt, for his close contact with the fire would be fatal to success.

224 Thus protected, the hunters went fearlessly to their work. In ordinary hunting there is no danger to speak of, though wounded animals sometimes turn furiously upon their hunters. But who can tell what sudden dangers the bush will spring upon one? I have passed within sound of the snoring of a gorged lion, and being unarmed, I could only pass on; I have been charged by enraged elephant and buffalo, and only barely escaped; and not once or twice lions have crossed the path not far from where I was. Such dangers the native hunters faced, armed only with spears or old breech-loading rifles, no doubt further strengthened by the consciousness of the numerous medicines by which they were protected. These, however, are incidental dangers: the actual hunting involved dangers knowingly and unflinchingly faced. I have myself been present when a native speared a wounded buffalo at a distance of a yard or two, dancing, waving his spear, and singing a song of

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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triumph before finally thrusting his weapon into the massive body, and then pushing it over with his hands. It should be added, however, that more than one bullet from my rifle had previously brought the great brute very near his death. A keen man will go close up, as indeed he must, to an elephant, before spearing it. 224

Each tribe had its own hunting ground, and poaching was very keenly resented; sometimes, in the long past, even leading to tribal war. The feeding ground of the village cattle was practical sanctuary for game, as hunting among cattle was not allowed, lest it should lead to quarrels with the owners.

The commonest method of hunting was (and is) to dig pits into which the game was driven, and killed on the spears planted in the bottom. A great circle was formed, and the animals slowly driven into the area in which the pits awaited them, and those which did not fall into them were easily speared as they attempted to break through the ring of hunters. Traps baited with salt or other bait, are still in use. The trap is made of strong saplings, the uprights held in place by cross-beams, and bound together with bark rope. Over the entrance is suspended a heavy beam, the ropes supporting it being so arranged that the entrance of the animal releases the beam, and either closes the door or disables the animal. Open traps are set on game paths without bait of any kind. The animal pushes through the cords supporting a beam; the beam drops, and the victim may lie in agony for days, before the hunters return to see what has happened.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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Game Traps for Small Animals.

The cords holding the door are so arranged, that the animal, on entering, closes itself in, and escape is impossible. Dangerous animals are trapped in strong timber enclosures, the bait a sheep, or a goat, or sometimes an ox.

Calabashes.

Glass widely practised by the Kaonde, but now almost obsolete. The native produces a strong and durable. Dyeing in black and red is also practised.

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3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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• 224 For very small game, an even more cruel form of trap is used, which may often be seen in the bush. A stout branch is bent down, and held in place by cords which are released at a touch, and the unfortunate animal is suspended by the neck, to struggle until death comes to its relief, or the hunter who set the trap returns to secure the reward of his skill. For elephant and other large game, a heavily weighted spear was so fixed, high up in a great tree, that the game passing under it released the fastenings, and the spear dropped between its shoulders. Great care was taken to set the spear exactly perpendicular; a little water was poured upon it, and the shaft moved until the drip from the point was in exact line. The hunters were watching at a safe distance, and immediately set out in pursuit of a wounded animal; occasionally, too, a man was stationed in the tree itself, to drop the spear with his hands as his quarry passed. Women must not go near such traps.

Hippo were often killed in pits, dugged near the lake shore or river banks, into which they fell as they wandered about in search of food. A more exciting game was to hunt them in canoes with spears and harpoon. The harpoon was so made that when plunged straight down on the passing hippo, the shaft was released, and the toothed blade, with a rope attached, was firmly imbedded in the flesh. Then followed a scene which closely resembled whale hunting stories. The hippo rushes off, then turns on its hunters, only to be driven off with spears as it comes close up to the canoe, charge and repulse being

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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repeated until finally the great brute succumbs, perhaps far out on the lake, whence it is towed ashore, to be received with the triumphant rejoicings of the waiting crowd, which has been watching the fight from the beginning. But if the hippo comes up right under the canoe, the chase is over, and the death wail takes the place of the expected rejoicings.

The bolder hunters lie in wait for the game, by water pools or game paths; or follow the spoor over miles of bush. The leader is usually the most skilful man in the company. He knows the ways of all the animals, and the dangers that are likely to be met with; it is his privilege, when the game has been overtaken, to throw the first spear; it is his duty to be the last to run when danger threatens; he must see to the safety of the others before he thinks of himself. Many years ago, in 1912 I think, I was following up a wounded buffalo, with two native trackers. When the brute charged, as it did three times, I urged them to get on ahead, but they refused. "No," they said, "you are wearing heavy boots; our feet are light; we will keep behind you."

A favourite method with some hunters is to lie in the water where the animals come to drink; or if it is not deep enough, they dig a pit in which they lie, covered over with leaves and branches; when the game comes to drink, it is speared by the unseen hunter.

All the flesh belonged to the hunters; but a substantial share was given to the chief, who claimed all elephant tusks as his special property. The leading

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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224 hunter received a cow, not as compensation for the tusks, but as a reward for his skill; the chief took the tusks without question; they were his *mwana* (child).

224 251 The flesh was roasted on the field, over a slow fire. Stakes were fixed in the ground, and a kind of trestle made, perhaps about two feet high, under which a great fire was kindled, and the flesh, cut into long strips, placed over it. In this condition it keeps good for months, but it requires prolonged cooking when it is to be eaten. This method of preserving the flesh is used to-day, when a European makes a good kill.

224 Dogs were employed for hunting pigs and smaller animals. The dog chased the game, which, after a little, turned and chased the dog, and was led to where the hunters were waiting with spears. Dogs were used also for tracking, and are said to follow all but the largest animals. There are large dogs of European breed, which chase leopards, usually in couples, but not always do both dogs return from the chase, and sometimes neither.

224 787 782 An unsuccessful hunting season was a matter for careful inquiry; for there must have been a cause, and it was the duty of the diviner to find it. Generally it was due to the never-failing trouble in the spirit-land, and when the diviner discovered the names of the individual spirits to whose meticulous ill-temper the hunting fiasco was to be attributed, arrangements were made for their propitiation. Beer was made, and each hunter took a small piece of the flesh of the animal he was specially expert in killing; and the

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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whole company repaired again to the hunting ground, where they built a hut under a large tree. The leader cooked native porridge, which was eaten along with beer and honey, when the spirits had had their due. A small heap of the porridge was set down with a little honey poured over it, and a small piece of flesh was laid beside it. Each ancestor was named, as his portion was laid out, and prayer was offered:

> "Ye fathers, we have brought this beer and food for you. Why are you angry? Neither pig, nor bushbuck, nor any other animal falls into our traps. Give them to us, ye who give us all. In our gardens there is maize and millet and all things else. Why then do you hinder us now? Why are our traps empty? Be merciful to us. God be merciful to us, and go to the Basango" (a neighbouring tribe).

After this ceremony, the hunt is resumed with fresh courage and new hopes, and possibly a great success.

Lion and leopard hunting is not, of course, prohibited by the game laws, and they are hunted or trapped with frequent success. A short time ago a leopard skin was brought to me, evil-smelling, and ruined by the spear-hole, which marked a fierce encounter; and one of the hunters, showing me where the leopard had leaped upon him, begged for a little medicine to apply to his wounds. The idea that his adventure made him an interesting person was not in all his thoughts.

When a trap is used, it is made of very strong timber, and divided into two portions. In one the live bait is

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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•224 put, usually a sheep or a goat; the lion or leopard enters at the other end, and in doing so releases a beam which closes the entrance. The bait is quite safe, if it does not die of fright, for it may be some time before the villagers come with spears to kill the caged carnivore. But more exciting methods are in use. In 1922 a leopard killed a number of children near Ipyana. Traps proving useless, the chief called for a great hunt, from which his men must not return without the body of the leopard. The brute was tracked, and encircled by a great multitude of men, armed with *isenge*, a kind of hooked axe, with which they mowed down the grass as they slowly worked towards the centre of the ring where the leopard lay. With a great spring it escaped when they came near, but was again surrounded. This time it sprang at one of the hunters, seizing him by the arm, but in an instant all the others were upon it, seized it by legs, neck, body, wherever they could get a grip, and held it tightly upon the ground while others beat it to death with their clubs.

Lions are killed in the same unflinching manner. In the same year, 1922, a lion killed many people near the lake shore. A hunt was organized, and the men, primed with much beer, followed the spoor. Infuriated by two spear-wounds, the lion turned and seized one of its pursuers, but a third spear-wound drove it off. Again it was surrounded, and the order was given not to retire. Once again a man was seized, but the lion was surrounded by his companions, and killed as the leopard was. It hardly needs to be said

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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that lives were lost in these dangerous adventures, 224
but no compensation was given to the relatives, as the risk was taken by command of the chief for the good of all. A great feast was given by the chief on the return from the hunt with the carcase of the lion or leopard. If no one was killed, the rejoicing was great; if there were casualties, the grief of a few was not allowed to damp the joy of the others, for a powerful public enemy had been disposed of, and it was an occasion for rejoicing.

Bird hunting is sport for boys, not for grown men. 223
A knobkerry skilfully thrown at a sitting bird sometimes brings it down; but bow and arrow, which are used almost exclusively for this sport, secure a heavier bag. Where bird life is plentiful, bird-lime is smeared on trees, and numbers are caught in this way. Loop traps, similar to those used for small animals, may be found anywhere in the bush, not seldom with a rotting victim still hanging in them. Drop traps, of a construction similar to that used by boys at home, are also used. A broken pot or a small basket is supported precariously by an upright; bait is placed within, and the bird, hopping on to a small platform, upsets the balance, and finds itself a prisoner. In suitable places small lakes are formed, and covered over with a network of loop traps, in which numbers of duck are caught.

Two interesting methods are followed by the boys. In the evening, when the birds are returning to roost, half a dozen boys stand with branches over their heads, while others wave smoky torches, to avoid

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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A Konde Hut.

Lion-hunting is the key note of Konde life, and there is always time to sit down for the ever-recurring theme: cattle, crops, children, or the white man, whose strange ways are of unfailing interest.

Lion Hunting.

The presence of a lion in a district causes a great scare, and the chief may call up all able-bodied men, armed with spears, clubs and bows, to the hunt. The lion—or leopard—is sometimes caught alive and clubbed or speared to death. The presence of a white man with a rifle gives increased courage to the hunters.

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3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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787 appearance is not unlike *malesi*, from which beer is made. If anyone eats this while there is abundance of proper food, it is an omen of famine to come. If the offender is a child, he is not beaten; but if he is grown up, he is mercilessly dealt with. It is not pretended that the beating averts the evil, nor has the man's action in eating the *ditika* anything to do with the coming famine, except to foretell it. If one asks, Why then is he beaten? the answer is simply that having foretold evil he deserves to be beaten. This unpalatableness of plain truth (if it is plain truth) is not unknown among other races than the Bantu.

787 6. Elephants while being hunted impart a great
• 224 deal of varied information to the hunters. As elephant
825 hunting by natives has long been prohibited, the omens afforded are no longer available, but that does not affect the belief in them. "The elephant does not lie" is an assured conviction in the minds of the hunters, and when an omen was given, the hunt was abandoned until the matter was investigated.

If, as the hunters approach, elephants are found leaping upon each other, a halt is called; both because in that condition they are specially dangerous, and because the omen is otherwise bad. There is sin among the hunters, and the whole party returns to the *fitembe*, the temporary quarters erected for the hunting period. There the case is gone into. Some one has wronged his neighbour in the manner suggested by the action of the elephants, and nothing can be done until it is put right. To go on with the hunt would be the extremest folly, and if no one

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confesses, the party returns to the village, and the diviner is called to discover the culprit. 787 224 825

If two elephants are found kneeling and facing each other, some one's wife has erred in his absence, and the hunt is stopped until justice is done. An elephant taking up dust with his trunk and offering it to another, shows that some one has offered snuff to another man's wife, a most significant action, demanding immediate satisfaction. If an elephant is seen touching the teats of another, a similar action has been committed in the village, and again the hunt stops for inquiry and punishment. Trumpeting elephants are a sign of quarrelling in the village, and one plastering its face with mud is a sign of death, for the women at the death-wail cover their faces with mud or chalk. The hunters return, and do not resume until all is clear again. It is most important that not only the hunters should be free from evil, but their friends also, for evil brings them into danger, and it is the duty of all in the village to see that the natural dangers of the hunt are not increased by unnatural evil in their homes.

7. War was foretold by the prophets, but confirmatory signs were usually not wanting. If the horns of the new moon were of unequal length, an enemy was known to be approaching; necessarily an enemy from a distance, for the phenomenon must have been visible over a wide area. The same terror was announced by a cow bellowing at night, if there was no known cause for its outcry. This, naturally, is a thing of the past, as war, at least native war, has 787 721

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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789 ment so often that finally it is either not paid at all,
426 or paid when it is quite convenient for the debtor to do so. To secure this desirable result the debtor, when he learns that his creditor is coming to demand payment, slips out into the bush, where he gets the roots of a plant called *butisi*, which he chews as the creditor approaches. A most amiable conversation ensues, at the end of which the creditor begs his friend on no account to disturb himself about the small matter that lies between them: any other time will do just as well, and he will be delighted to call again in a couple of months or so. The same end is attained by incising a powder into the forehead between the eyes.

789 Hunting medicines have already been referred to.
•224 One is incised along the bone from the thumb to the
763 elbow; another is taken internally, but this latter is dangerous, because it leads to a lingering death. When death draws on, instead of dying as common men do, the whole body of the hunter who drinks this medicine becomes helpless; the heart keeps going, the lips move and talk; death does not come. Then his friends come and sing to him: "*Ndembo syaya mmiyombo*," the elephants are among the trees. The sick man, puffing out his cheeks, emits breath with a whirring sound, which is supposed to resemble a sound made by elephants, and presently he breathes his last.

755 But there are few ills, imaginary or otherwise, for which there are no cures, imaginary or otherwise: and the cautious hunter, finding old age creeping on him, and his hunting days becoming a thing of

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643 652 subjects. The great bulk of this income was employed for public purposes, but no exact line can be drawn between his public and his personal expenditure[1].

643 651 224 "The right tusk of an elephant was called the royal, the left the common tusk. All royal tusks were the Kyungu's but common tusks belonged to the hunter who killed the elephant. Whenever a hunter here in the Ngonde plain killed an elephant he would take the royal tusk to his own chief (or noble) who would then tell him to bear it to the lord of the country, and so he would take it to the Kyungu. But in the distant hills the local ruler[2] would keep the royal tusks and so cheat the Kyungu. He might come to visit him from time to time, bringing two or three tusks only; and in that case the Kyungu would not claim the others from him. If, however, the Kyungu had heard that many elephants had been killed in so and so's country, and if no subsequent visit had been made to him, he would get angry and send a messenger, and then the territorial noble would come in haste to visit him. But very many tusks they stole and never brought." Whether the commoner from the plain who brought the ivory to Mbande received a gift from the Kyungu in return we do not know; he was not conducted into the sacred enclosure, and he left the tusk with the nobles of Ngonde. But the distant territorial nobles who brought ivory were royally entertained, and even entered the presence of the Kyungu.

Now the sanction for bringing to Mbande the royal tusks of the plain was a moral one, arising from religious faith. It was believed that any huntsman in the plain who had killed an elephant and kept both tusks, instead of taking the right to his own chief or noble and thence on to Mbande, would never kill another; for the spirits of the dead Kyungus would be angry and frustrate his best efforts. It was believed that this would be so even though the living authorities at Mbande had been successfully hoodwinked; it was impossible to hoodwink the dead.

But in the distant hills the sanction was entirely different. The Kyungu and his ancestors were only local divinities, they were only believed to control the fate of the plain. In the hills what was feared was military force. If Nthalile or Mwenewenya refused to obey a summons to Mbande then the Kyungu would order his *wina*, the chiefs, to go and "burn him out" for insolence[3]. The sanction of force, however, was not the only reason for their acquiescence; it was profit-

[1] No such line can be drawn in England either. We distinguish the King's Civil List from the rest of the budget, but does the sum which His Majesty keeps has a public significance.

[2] I.e. the territorial noble.

[3] Vide infra section 5 (iv).

6:Wilson E-5 (1936-1938):1939 FN17 Ngonde FN17

able also for distant nobles to bring ivory to Mbande, since they were given in return valuable gifts of cloth which they could not easily get elsewhere. And besides this it is said that "they desired the Kyungu's favour and to have their importance recognised by him."

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Of the tusks which were retained by the hunters in the plain a good many were bought up afterwards by the Kyungu or by the chiefs in return for cloths or cattle or slaves.

Food was brought both by the chiefs and the territorial nobles of the plain, either on their own initiative or in answer to a royal command; and sometimes the less distant nobles of the hills brought food also. Mwenemimbo, for example, was called upon for the beans for which his country is still famous to-day. But, as the following quotation shows, not all the food brought reached the personal possession of the Kyungu.

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"In the old days the nobles of Ngonde had most cunning ways, they would send a message to some territorial noble by the lake to say that the Kyungu desired fish and he must bring him some. Whereupon the noble would bring maybe ten or twenty baskets of fish. He would bring it to the nobles of Ngonde, who would then go and inform the Kyungu that so and so had come bringing fish. And the Kyungu would bid them thank him and tell them to give him a law. They would do so and the visiting noble would go home. And then the nobles of Ngonde would bring two baskets of fish in to the Kyungu, dividing the remainder among themselves.

"So likewise they would send to Mwenemimbo for beans and to other nobles for maize or millet; and always they would tell Kyungu of these nobles' arrival, but he would never see what they had brought with them! Sometimes the Kyungu might tell them to send one away without any gift, to another he might give something, just as the fancy took him. But always the nobles of Ngonde would keep the bulk of what had been brought for themselves and bring a little of it only into Kyungu's house. When sending them for food they sent the *walubaka* who were their messengers."

And the lesser authorities likewise, great chiefs, local chiefs and territorial nobles, took a certain tribute from their own subjects; they could not take the royal tusks, but they could and did take food. Every ruler in Ngonde (and also among the Nyakyusa) had the power of sending at need to any of his subjects and taking some food—bananas, milk, beer and so on. This power was correlated with the view that the local rulers, in relation to their people, were the ultimate owners of the land which their people used. And so also in the relation of the Kyungu with the local rulers, the view that he had given (or allowed them to retain) their land was correlated with the tribute of food.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
F3617 Ngonde F3617
Nyakyusa

(d) THE WILD PIG

Another sort of cleansing, unorganized, but concerning groups of neighbours, not kinsmen, is the 'blaming one another' (*ukuse-jana*) which takes place if a pig-hunt fails and quarrelling between the hunters is suspected to be the cause. It was described by a Christian, who had called his pagan neighbours to help him in tracking down a pig, which he had wounded during the previous night in his maize garden. It eluded them, hour after hour, though they were close upon it.

The neighbours began to think that the pig was sent by the shades (*ali wenuke*)—they meant themselves. So they stopped hunting and gathered together to express their anger, and they said: 'Our fathers built together and drank beer together, why should this pig trouble us so? We don't suspect our friend who is a Christian for he has shown that he has no quarrel with us. Had he been angry he would not have called us to hunt with him. But if one of the rest of us has a quarrel with his fellow let him speak out, that we may all be free of anger (*tuje bolo*) and seize the pig, for if we think hard thoughts about one another we shall not have strength to take the pig.' All said that they were in friendship with their fellows, so first one and then another took his spear and . . . laid it on the ground and said: 'I am without anger (*Une ndimanda (tole)*.' All of them did this. One spoke to his fellow and said: 'Perhaps you are angry over that quarrel we had over beer?' But he replied, 'No.' Then the first man took up his spear from the ground and said, 'Father help us to catch this pig, if there was a quarrel, forgive, do not think of that with which I counsel you to be angry. We bless one another, we are without anger.' Then all the others did the same, and they set off again to hunt.

This account, and the commentary of Mwalimbo on it, made it plain that the true translation of *bola* in such a context is 'without anger'. The communal rituals in which a whole chiefdom, or a group of neighbours, participate all have this one end, the cleansing of the group of quarrels by their open expression and explicit rejection.

233 343 462 [515] the women, but the men are responsible for keeping the floor of the stable in good repair. For this purpose a specific tool is used, called *ukutebe indebele*. It is round on top, flattened on the lower side and provided with a handle.

●224 5. *Hunting.* Sometimes the Nyakyusa go out to hunt, but nowadays hunting is much more restricted than in former times as described e. g. by Mackenzie in his book: "The spirit-ridden Konde" (London 1925). This record, however, deals mostly with the Ngonde of the environment of Karonga whose interesting social history was unsurpassably revealed to us by Mr. Godfrey Wilson's treatise: "The Constitution of Ngonde" (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Number Three. Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia 1939.) Hunting in the Nyakyusa country is now [552] curtailed by governmental regulations. Hunting (*ukufuuma*), therefore, does not supply an essential part of the food requirements of the [138] natives. The colobus apes on the slopes of the Rungwe volcano and the [552] Poroto Mountains are sometimes killed for their attractive black and white skins, but fortunately this is now forbidden by the government. [439] Otherwise these apes would be exterminated in quite a short time, since the skins of these apes are in great demand with some Europeans for rugs and covers. Naturally, the hunting of lions and especially of leopards, which even nowadays still cause great damage, is not restricted.

224 231 The hunting of game for food is often done with dogs (*imbwa*) which have small bells (*ingeti*) on collars round their necks. Thereby the hunter (*umfuumi*) always knows the whereabouts of his dog. The chase is continued till the dog or dogs are exhausted. The object of the hunt (*umfuumwa*) is generally a small type of antelope (*ukaspe*), e. g. in the [202] environment of Mwakalele, as I was instructed. The usual time for hunting is the cooler season, but to-day a permit of the government is also required.

223 Catching birds by means of traps (*umsego*, pl. *imitego*) is still common in the Nyakyusa area. I have also seen such traps constructed by means of the flinking-gallow's principle also in the vicinity of Ubengule among the Safwa. The herd boys especially set traps to catch quails (*imbeni*) when the *mabeni* (millet) harvest is over. Sometimes smaller birds are also coursed until they are exhausted and then slain. One day I found a stick vertically put on the soil and with a triangle made of smaller sticks at its top. The horizontal part of which was smeared with an adhesive substance. I was told that this was a trap for birds.